181 565 is intensive in depth, but it is limited mostly to the family circle, taken here in the broader sense.

181 208 In their approach to national problems, the Hungarians seem to be predominantly romantic, irrational, and thus easily influenced by the right kind of propaganda. Any policy which employs a slogan easily adaptable to the conservative and retrospective frame of mind of the Hungarian peasant has hope for success, and once a slogan of this kind catches on, compromise on the part of the public is not to be feared. Two world wars have shown that the Hungarians, once convinced theirs is a righteous mission, will fight to the end even when their cause seems hopeless. The present regime does everything possible to take advantage of this tenacity. Beginning with statements about the early communistic tribal organization of the primitive Magyars, Communist propaganda tries hard to make a chain of all the facts of Hungarian history which can be interpreted as pointing to the present regime as the "fulfillment of a glorious past." It would seem, however, that the facts of history are too well known and their memories of their treatment as a conquered people are too fresh for them to be too swayed by Communist propaganda.

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imperialism than against the Turks, and his financial and judiciary reforms remedied the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. An elected king, he drew heavily on the support of the lower nobility. History has designated him "Matthias the Just" (Mátyás az igazságos) and still remembers him as a defender of the poor and a dispenser of justice.

But under the successors of Mátyás, economic conditions grew steadily worse. Hungarian gold had depreciated in the competition with gold imported from the New world, the central political power of the country was weakened, and the local oligarchs were exploiting the serfs with increasing rapaciousness. The first massive armed uprising of Magyar peasants--albeit an unsuccessful one--dates from 1514. This was a poorly armed and untrained army of the people, whose captured leader, György Dósza, was savagely tortured and slowly burned alive, his flesh served to his lieutenants. After the execution of scores of rebellious peasants, legal sanctions provided for the "eternal servitude" of the peasant who, from then on, was not only more heavily taxed but was also deprived of his right to change masters and to move from one domain to another. (This historical incident is now being strongly played up in the Communist propaganda directed toward the peasants. Dósza had previously never had a prominent place in Hungarian folklore.) [208]

The completely disorganized country was an easy prey of a new and

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names of nationalised enterprises and of Communist mass organizations are entering the language in abbreviated form and assert themselves as new roots (közértes 'grocer, the person running the local store of the State-owned chain KÖZÉRT').

The new terms amount to several hundred and oblige any contemporary student of Hungarian public life to use a recently published dictionary by Országh László entitled Magyar-Angol Szótár.

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The present regime is not domesticating any permanent slogan specifically tailored to conditions in Hungary. The existing slogans refer to everyday economic and social problems and are, as such, ephemeral, while these of more general character reflect the well-known international Communist line.

796 at Easter instead of on May first.

[208] March 15 is the anniversary of the 1848 revolution. It is today being celebrated by the Communists (along with May 1 and April 4 [Liberation by the Red Army]), who have adapted the anti-Hapsburg sentiment of the day for their anti-Western propaganda. No popular custom is connected with March 15.

[526] At Whitsuntide the youth of the village elects, after horseback riding and athletic competitions, the pünkösdi király, the king for a day, and his queen.

June 29, the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, opens the harvest season.

[372] On Midsummer day (Szentiván, 'St. John's Day') a Saint John's fire is lit in many Hungarian villages, especially in regions which have come under strong Germanic or Slavic influence. The villagers sit around the fire and sing, while the girls jump over the purifying fire, thus assuring themselves a future happy married life.

August 20 was formerly the day of Saint Steven, first king of Hungary. Before World War II, it was occasionally connected with the gathering in of the crop and thanksgiving ceremonies. Today, its celebration in the old form is forbidden; the government pro-

Annex "A," Subparagraph 11, Sociological Background

PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

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In late 1948 all means of public information were taken over by the Communist government in Hungary. Since that time public information as such no longer exists and is merely the vehicle of political propaganda. In a "totally totalitarian" state, such as any of the People's Democracies, the media of public information are owned and operated by the Government, which in turn is entirely dependent upon the Communist Party. No news item appears in the press, no commentary goes on the air, no book can be printed, unless it is thoroughly censored by the proper Communist authorities and double-checked by the higher-ups.

In the Communist countries, and in Hungary too, every act, public or private, is judged by political standards. Thus, a banal news item about an employee embezzling a small sum from a company's cash register is conceived to be a purely political act, and the family background of the offender, and whether he stole public or private property, must be taken into consideration. A news item of this type is therefore carefully considered and weighed against other news items from the point of view of its effectiveness as propaganda, and is only

208 then either published or thrown out. Public information and propaganda are inseparable in Hungary.

The basic twofold aim of Communist propaganda in Hungary is (a) the reeducation of the masses on a Leninist basis and (b) the gradual Russification of the country. Perhaps the word Russification is too strong, but it certainly represents a distant undeniable goal. Today the Magyars have so far assimilated very little from Russian culture. The Party's (or government's) information activity toward the citizens is based on Lenin's own assumption that propaganda tries to drive home a set of ideas for individuals or a group while agitation has more limited content, carries only a few ideas, but carries them to all the people.

208 645 On June 8, 1949, the Propaganda Ministry was revived under the name of the Ministry of People's Culture. Its importance is clearly indicated by the fact that its first head was József Révai himself, one of the most influential Moscovites and the chief theoretician of the Hungarian Communist Party.

208 645 Within the Party organization, the Propaganda Division of the Central Directorate is in charge of all information activities and is directly responsible to the Secretary G...l.

000 films boasted of 460,000 showings in Hungary, with 44 million seats sold.

214 Printing machines in the State-owned and operated publishing houses do not lie idle in Hungary. Books, monographs and all sorts of pamphlets are being printed in a volume surpassing the pre-war level. In 1952, their number reached 14,000,000 volumes. What the actual products of this florishing literature are can be seen easily by a glance at the 1952 "best-seller list":

		No. of Copies
Stalin's Complete Works	Vol. 2	50,000
	Vol. 5	50,000
	Vol. 8	50,200
	Vol. 9	50,200
	Vol.10	50,200
	Vol.13	50,200
Stalin, The Problems of Leninism		50,200
Stalin, The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR		85,200
Spanov, The Conspirators		19,000
Pushkin, The Captain's Daughter		10,000
Azmayev, Far From Moscow		10,000
Gorki, The Mother		9,060
Illés, The Conquest of the Land		12,230
József's Selected Poems		10,200
Illyés, The People of the puszta		11,400
Móricz, Tales		11,750

Only the last three on the list are by Hungarian authors. The total of Lenin's and Stalin's works recently hit the 10 million mark.

217 208 The Communist press and literature are propagated in the villages in the "people's libraries" the number of which is surprisingly high (in 1952: 278 in Borsod county, 253 in Baranya, 242 in Veszprém, 223

in Szabolcs) and in the rural "people's houses of culture" (107 in Borsod, 91 in Baranya, 64 in Bács-Kiskún). These rural cultural centers feature meetings and lectures and are instrumental, in addition to newspapers, posters, pamphlets and radio, in spreading propaganda about the new way of life.

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Rumor being the only means of news dissemination which does not lend itself easily to censorship, it is today the only means, besides Western radio broadcasts, through which non-propagandistic information is able to travel. The Communists themselves freely use this medium and stress the importance of mouth to mouth propaganda. In industrial areas and cities in general, rumor spreads easier but it is also less difficult to censor; in the villages, on the other hand, where the peasants have the custom of gathering after the day's labor in small groups for talk, rumors can travel more freely without the interference of possible Communist informers. It has been noted, in the recent past, that rumor--especially anti-Communist rumor which, of course, is not being carried by the official government news machinery--spreads with surprising rapidity. The Berlin anti-Communist riots were common knowledge in Hungary a few hours after they actually broke out, without the press or radio ever alluding to them.

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000 the press or radio ever alluding to them.

208 The over-all effect of the Communist government propaganda is very difficult to measure, indeed impossible as long as the Hungarian people are not given a chance to express themselves freely. The only measure by which one could formulate an opinion is the fact that after so many years of totalitarian propaganda, the government still could not consolidate its position: every two years or so a new tactical approach, a new course, is being put into practice in order to win over the passive resistance of the masses: the peasant's refusal of the co-operatives, the worker's lack of enthusiasm for the new type of Stakhanovite exploitation.

The effect of the democratic Western propaganda is easier to measure. Refugees and reports from the country are unanimous in stating that information from the West is eagerly being received and diligently transmitted by word of mouth.

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186 The old national anthem has been kept by the present regime
533 along with the Internationale. The anthem is the work of Kölcsey and Erkel, famous Hungarian poet and composer. The Rákóczy March recalls the heroic fight of the Magyars against the Hapsburgs in the early eighteenth century and is widely heard all over Hungary.

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208 Slogans representing national aspirations are not very common today. The slogans propagated by the Communist public information machinery are mostly such short-lived ones as the one quoted below which was created at the time of the currency reform in 1946: Fizessenek a gazdagok ('Let the rich pay'). These temporary slogans are intended for a restricted clientele and for a definite aim; the response to them is varied, but they never seem to penetrate the popular mind, and they are far from symbolizing nationalistic hopes. Perhaps it is the ever-changing policy of the Communist Party itself which prevents the regime from producing slogans of a permanent character.

The pre-war years, on the other hand, abounded in slogans voicing the Irredentistic sympathies of all the various governments of Hungary. Such slogans were the famous Nem Nem Soha! 'No, No, Never!' voicing the determination of the Magyar never to resign himself to the territorial losses provided for in the Versailles Peace Treaty, and the greeting Szebb Jövőt! 'A Brighter Future!' which the Hungarian young people took to heart and which many still remember.

565 661 ranks of the State's bureaucratic machinery, while the majority are now under strict police surveillance.

565 6608 With respect to national consciousness, trustworthiness and unshaken opposition to the hated regime which dispossessed them, these people can be counted on. Individually they are well educated; many of them speak several languages and have a broad knowledge of local, national, and international problems. Many of them have relatives and friends abroad. Although they could probably perform liaison activities well, any attempt to give them prominence in a subversive organization would be a mistake because, as a rule, they are regarded as pillars of social reaction and few of the peasants or laboring groups would particularly care for such leaders, fearing their deep-rooted conservatism and autocratic tendencies. Furthermore, Communist propaganda repeats ceaselessly that the only aim of the United States and other democratic governments is to re-establish the old autocratic or oligarchic system in Hungary and elsewhere. [208]

Before the Communists seized power, the intelligentsia or the middle class provided Hungary with many outstanding personalities in different fields, especially education, science, art, business, and even politics. Under the Communists, the middle class underwent a basic

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a surprising willingness to compromise with the Communist regime. The politically neutral or pro-Communist segment of the Protestant clergy is a minority and the Protestants of Hungary have had their recent martyrs just like the Catholics. Nevertheless, this minority seems to be relatively larger than the number of Catholic priests collaborating with the Communists.

[208] Catholic priests join the Communist political propaganda only sporadically. Those who are willing to lend their signatures to "peace campaigns" and other propaganda are on the verge of excommunication--several of them have already suffered this penalty--and their flock is aware of these leanings and does not trust them like the "regulars."

The importance of the Church opposition to the State is most significant in the villages where the population is most devout and the priests have great prestige among their parishioners. Social activities, the few which are legally permitted, give the parish priest an opportunity to keep in close contact with the members of the community.

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From the geographical point of view, Hungary, the flattest among the so-called satellite countries, lends itself with difficulty

659 794 A high percentage of priests had for some time viewed with misgivings the hostile attitude adopted by their leaders to the young People's Republic. They expressed their desire to come to an agreement with the State, and declared openly that they were on the side of peace and for the rebuilding of the country.

[575] As a result the National Committee of Catholic Priests for the Defence of Peace was formed and the Congress also played its part in stimulating the extremely important Church-State Agreement of August 30 which was signed jointly by the Minister of Religion and Public Education and by the Archbishop of Kalocsa on behalf of the Bench of Bishops.

Catholic Agreement

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Bench of Hungarian Catholic Bishops, desiring to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the State and the Catholic Church and so to promote the unity of the Hungarian people in its work of peaceful reconstruction and to further the peaceful development of our country have, after discussion, come to the following agreement:

I

1. The members of the Bench of Bishops recognise and, in accordance with their duty as citizens, support the State of the Hungarian People's Republic and its Constitution. They declare that according to the rules of the Church they will take proceedings against any ecclesiastical persons who act against the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic and the constructive work of the Government.

2. The Bench of Bishops condemns all kinds of subversive activities directed against the State and the social laws of the Hungarian People's Republic. It announces that it will not permit the exploitation of the religious feelings of the congregations of the Catholic Church for anti-State political purposes.

3. The Bench of Bishops asks the Catholic congregations, as citizens and as patriots, to participate with all their strength in the great work which the whole Hungarian nation is doing under the leadership of the People's Republic, in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan and raising the standard of living for the [423] realisation of social justice. The Bench of Bishops urges the clergy in particular not to resist the development of the agricultural co-operative movement, as such a voluntary co-operation is based upon the moral principle of human solidarity.

794 208 4. The Bench of Bishops supports the peace movement and it approves the efforts of the Hungarian people, and of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, to defend peace. It condemns all instigation to war, condemns the use

194 of atomic weapons and therefore considers the Government
208 which first uses the atom bomb as guilty of a crime against humanity.

II

[641] 1. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic,
654 in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic, ensures absolute freedom of religion to the Catholic congregations, and also ensures freedom of activity to the Catholic Church.

[87] 2. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic approves the return of eight church schools (six boys' schools and two girls' schools) to the Catholic Church and will also see that in all these Catholic schools there are an adequate number of male and female teachers belonging to the religious orders.

3. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will provide for the financial needs of the Catholic Church in the spirit already agreed with other religious denominations in such a way that for 18 years, *i.e.*, until the Catholic Church can cover its financial needs from its own resources, it will grant sums decreasing in a proportion every three and five years respectively. Within the framework of the financial aid the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will lay special stress on ensuring a suitable living wage for the clergy.

To carry out the above agreement a mixed committee shall be formed composed of delegates of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Bench of Bishops.

Visit to Hungary

A visit to Hungary in the autumn of 1950 provided an opportunity to meet a number of Hungary's church leaders and to get a personal impression of the situation as it is to-day, and it should be said at once that the result was one overall general and inescapable conclusion: that Hungary's church leaders and church people were not perpetually preoccupied with the question of Church-State relations but with making the best provision for dealing with the overwhelming opportunities to do their proper work which were now open to them.

It was typical of the situation that glancing at the local press in the historic Calvinist town of Debrecen there should appear in prominent positions two statements from leaders of the Reformed Church, on this occasion saying that they gladly took part in the local elections because they wanted to support peace and demo-
[563] cracy and the abolition of exploitation. Debrecen also has a Jewish paper.

346 cathedral built between 1822 and 1869 in imitation of St. Peter's, Rome, dominates the City; the Franciscan buildings had been nationalised, now they are returned to the Church, while the nunnery, on the other hand, has become a State school. The seminary is busy training Catholic priests and the Palace of the Prince Primate is inhabited by nuns, two vicars and church offices although uniformed retainers and cars are still in evidence.

659 792 The dissolution of certain religious orders was agreed at the time of the Church-State discussions as was the continued existence of the Franciscans, the Benedictines, the Piarists, and the Hungarian Poor Sisters of Our Lady. Monks of dissolved orders have become secular priests while the lay brothers have mainly become school teachers. Each of the remaining orders has two houses, except the Franciscans who have three.

Christians and Peace

[795] 794 ● 208 575 More than anything else, perhaps, it is the movement for peace which has paved the way for the co-operation of all the churches in Hungary, not only with the Government but with the Communists. As the movement has developed more and more Christians have come into it. This was abundantly demonstrated in May, 1950, with the beginning of the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Peace Petition. Immediately after this the Reformed Church sent a message to the World Council of Churches pleading with it to take a stand for peace and, at the same time a letter was sent to all its parishes urging the clergy to take part in the peace movement; the Unitarians called on all their ministers to work against war; Catholic priests began to make statements for the Peace Movement, whereas the bishops opposed their participation. In June came the Hungarian Peace Congress with strong Protestant participation and some Catholic. Then came the Cathlic Priests' Peace Conference, already noted, and the Church-State agreement which led the Secretary of the Catnolic Priests' Peace Committee, Fr. Richard Horváth, to say:

"This agreement proves that those who initiated the Catholic Priests' Peace Movement were right. The movement has helped in bringing about the agreement and, thus, the long wished-for desire of millions is realised. With this agreement we have made a great step forward in strengthening internal peace.

"We promise to support the Bench of Bishops so that they can fulfil the agreement—which serves the best interests of our people and their spiritual welfare—with the best possible results. We express our thanks to, and our confidence in, the Government for its goodwill and understanding of the interests of the Catholic Church, and towards the workers' loyalty to faith, and respect for traditions. We again declare that we shall continue to do our duty as citizens with enthusiasm and unselfishness."

14: Evans S-3 (1950) 1953 EC1 Hungary EC1

Father Richard Horváth.

Both Catholics and Protestants protested to the Security Council against the bombing of civilians in Korea. At the World Peace Congress there were substantial Catholic and Protestant delegations, the Catholic being led by Fr. Horváth and the Protestant by Bishop Péter of Debrecen and Bishop Dezséry of the Lutherans. At the same time the Protestants issued a peace appeal to the Christians of the world; in January the Catholic paper *Uj Ember* (New People) expressed its approval of the Peace Law as did *A Kereszt* (The Cross)* the new weekly paper of the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee and the Lutheran Bishops issued a joint pastoral on Peace.

Recent Developments

Since that time there have been a number of developments of general interest.

In May, 1951, a new law was passed creating a State Office for Church Affairs charged with dealing with all relations between the Churches and the State. No new principle was involved in this measure because the Minister of Education had previously held the responsibility for dealing with such matters. The creation of the new department recognised that the churches were independent and ought not to be confused with questions such as education which were directly the province of the State, and at the same time, by creating a Minister responsible solely for relations between State and Church, it assured that these relations

* Other Catholic periodicals are the bulletin *Magyar-Kurir* (Hungarian Courier) and the monthly *Vigilea*.

20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 EC1 Hungary EC1

204 Propoganda and press are closely interwoven in present
208 day Hungary, exerting an ever-increasing political pressure on all phases of post-war reconstruction.

State Versus Religion

659 Until recently both Soviet occupational authorities and the Hungarian Communists have avoided restricting by legislation the country's religious liberty. On the contrary, in order to disarm criticism by religious groups, the coalition government introduced legal measures to restore "the rights of individual communities belonging to accepted and recognized religions which were abolished by earlier Fascist regulations."[34] There has been a definite increase of popular attachment to the Roman Catholic Church which has retained its strong
793 influence on public opinion. The present Catholic leader of Hungary,
659 Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, is very outspoken on moral and national matters and has taken a definite stand on contemporary issues. During the war he protested on several occasions against particular actions of the German and Hungarian Fascists.[35] As Bishop of Veszprém he was repeatedly mistreated by gangs of the Fascist Arrow Cross followers. He severely criticized the land reform which deprived the Church of over half a million acres by limiting all ecclesiastical holdings to less than one hundred acres each. More recently in a letter addressed to the Minister of Justice he complained about the mistreatment of war criminals. As a Catholic leader he continually emphasized his anti-Communist sentiments and his disapproval of the methods and severity of Soviet occupation.

793 Some of Cardinal Mindszenty's close followers recently submitted
661 a plan which would put Hungary's reconstruction on a broader and more democratic basis. This project entails a four-power supervision of the Hungarian Army and police force after the withdrawal of Soviet

34 Decree 6270/1946 M.E., published June 4, 1946, H.G. 125.

35 In June, 1944, in a joint pastoral circular letter with the then Cardinal Justinian Serédi he stated that: "Precisely now, because we are in this dreadful world war, we are in the greatest need of the help of God. . . . In these very times we see with unutterable sadness that here, in Christian Hungary, successive orders were decreed which are opposed to the laws of God. These edicts have infringed upon, and even totally taken away the inborn rights of a part of our Hungarian fellow-citizens . . . and they are persecuted exclusively on account of their racial origin, without proving their individual crimes, if any, and without the procedure prescribed by law. You also could readily understand the injustice of such action, if you were deprived of your rights in this manner." This pastoral letter was ordered read in every Catholic church in the country. It has recently been reprinted in its full text, in English, as part of a documentary collection of Catholic speeches and statements, *Important Declarations of J. Serédi, Taken From his Pastoral Letters and Speeches Which Refer to Actual Ecclesiastico-Political Questions* (Budapest, 1946), pp. 28-37.

20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 ECl Hungary ECl

selected from all major labor unions is headed by an ardent Communist, Kossa, organizer of the Budapest streetcar workers union.

An essential institution in Hungarian industry is the factory committee, elected by the workers to represent their interests in dealing with the management, or with State officials now serving as replacements for an almost extinct managerial class. These small factory committees are particularly sensitive to party ideology and are permeated by Communist propaganda. Through them the workers are brought into constant contact with political authorities of the State, and their private life is closely watched. At their trade union meetings they are given lectures on foreign and domestic politics devoted frequently to violent hate propaganda against Britain and the United States.[43] Trade unions and factory committees have thus become important tools in the hands of the country's dominant political-economic bloc.

The process of industrial recovery and the strengthening of a new laboring class have suffered considerably by the recent financial disaster which culminated in the inflation of 1946. The country's economic foundations were first weakened by the wave of German looting and seizures of valuable assets and capital goods, estimated at approximately ten billion dollars. The economic deathblow was then delivered by the prompt acquisitiveness with which Soviet Russia reduced occupied Hungary to the role of an economic colony. The threatening upward spiral of prices, wages and nominal money values finally drove out the Pengõ, discredited by a long and unchecked period of inflation. The economic situation improved substantially after the stabilization of August 1946 when an old Austro-Hungarian monetary unit, the *forint* (florin), had been established as the fixed national currency. By the end of 1946 industrial capacity was gradually restored to about sixty percent of the pre-war potential, although Hungary continued to pay an exceedingly heavy reparation bill, both in industrial equipment and in current manufacturing production.[44]

Reparations today include nearly all of the country's capital goods

43 Cf. "Workers and Industry, Danubian Outlook," *The Economist*, Jan. 25, 1947, p. 134.

44 N. Káldor estimates that at least one-fourth of the total current production goes to the U.S.S.R. The reparations burden is further enhanced by a strict interpretation of the Potsdam agreement according to which the Russians continue to compute the reparations bill in "dollars of 1938 purchasing power." Nevertheless, Professor Káldor reaches the strange conclusion that "the picture of Soviet Russia as the ruthless economic exploiter of Hungary is far too one-sided." Cf. "The Danubian States," *The Times*, London, Nov. 19, 1946.

9: Pool S-4 (no date) 1954 E1 Europe
Hungary EC1

701 trolled and Russified Polish force. The resolution of the central
[703] problem faced by the Russians was slower in the army of Hungary.
*648 Only with the appointment of the experienced Russian soldier, General Bata, as Minister of Defense has professionalism acquired appropriate standing.

On the whole Russia has had to cope with the lack of adequate professional officers in Hungary, as in Romania, by subordinating the satellite army very definitely to the Soviet forces on the spot. The power of the Soviet occupation is summarized in a document on Soviet Imperialism: Hungary 1944-48.[36] It was agreed at the Yalta Conference in February 1945 that each of the ex-enemy countries in Eastern Europe would be supervised by the three main allied powers acting jointly, and an allied Control Commission was set up. "The Allies agreed that the chairman of the Commission would be the Soviet representative . . . but the representatives of the three powers were to act jointly . . . From the very start the Soviet representatives consistently acted unilaterally in the name of the commission without consultation or notice to their British and American colleagues . . . Moreover the Soviet chairman ordered that all communications between the representatives of the western allies and the Hungarian authorities be channeled through him.

"The Soviet element used its military powers to further the cause
●[208] of the Hungarian Communists in many ways. For example, it exercised censorship over all telegraph connections and permitted criticisms of the western allies in press and radio, but none of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet element seized virtually all of the newsprint in the country and Hungarian newspapers were able to obtain the paper only with the consent of the Red Army . . .

"Soviet influence was further strengthened by the presence of the Red Army in Hungary. Early in 1945 these troops numbered as high as one million and, despite protests from the western allies, were withdrawn very slowly . . . In the final treaty, negotiated in Paris during the winter of 1946-47, the USSR won the right to keep troops in Hungary." In 1951 at least four active Soviet divisions were estimated to be in Hungary and some estimates of Soviet troops there ran very much higher.[37]

That is why when Mihaly Farkas took over control of the Hungarian Army he needed only a modicum of military skill. That modicum he had. He had served in the Spanish Civil War and indeed had also had some military training in the Czechoslovak Army before that. After the Spanish Civil War he served in the Russian Army as an officer. He was, however, not regarded primarily as a military man and his first job after the war was as Undersecretary of Interior in charge of the organization of police. He was Deputy Secretary General of the Communist party and a member of the Politburo. In general his background and training, as that of all of the satellite Ministers of Defense whom we have studied except Rokossowski, was much